

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2011-03409 Doc No. C17641401 Date: 05/13/2013

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SOURCE: KODAKB.008011

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APPROVED BY: AF:HJETER

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 130153

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

E.O. 12958: DECL: 07/08/10

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL INFORMAL FOR A/S RICE

(U) CLASSIFIED BY AF ACTING A/S HOWARD JETER, REASONS
 1.5(B) AND (D)

1. (U) PLEASE PASS TO AF A/S RICE IMMEDIATELY.

2. (C) SUDAN ROADMAP MATRIX FOLLOWS:

HUMANITARIAN ISSUES

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-- GOS ACTION: EXTEND AND EXPAND THE HUMANITARIAN CEASE-FIRE. THIS COULD INCLUDE EXPANSION INTO GOS OR OPPPOSITION-CONTROLLED AREAS AT RISK OF FAMINE OR LENGTHENING THE PERIOD OF COMMITMENT TO THE CEASE-FIRE

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ENCOURAGE OPPPOSITION PARTIES TO EXTEND CEASE-FIRE AND EXPAND IT TO AREAS OF URGENT HUMANITARIAN NEED; AND THROUGH THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS CHAIRED BY AMBASSADOR VRAALSEN, EXPLORE MODALITIES FOR

MONITORING OF THE CEASE-FIRE THAT WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Charles Daris, Senior Reviewer

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ALL PARTIES.

-- GOS ACTION: ALLOW OLS TO MEET HUMANITARIAN NEEDS IN NUBA MOUNTAINS. ENSURE REGULAR OLS ACCESS AND AID TO NUBA MOUNTAINS. INCLUDE NUBA MOUNTAINS IN OLS AGREEMENT

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE STATEMENTS. OFFER TO SECOND USAID PERSON TO UN TEAM OR SEND US TEAM TO NUBA MOUNTAINS TO VERIFY RELIEF ACTIVITIES.

-- GOS ACTION: LIFT PERMANENTLY ALL BANS ON RELIEF FLIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY WHERE THERE ARE PEOPLE IN NEED

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE STATEMENTS. ESTABLISH HUMANITARIAN OFFICE IN EMBASSY KHARTOUM OFFICE IN NAIROBI OR IN KHARTOUM. SEND US TEAM TO EVALUATE EMERGENCY REQUIREMENTS IN GOS-CONTROLLED AREAS.

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-- IF GOS ACCOMPLISHES THE ABOVE STEPS, THEN WE WOULD INITIATE NON-EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE PROJECTS IN NUBA MOUNTAINS AND OTHER GOS-CONTROLLED AREAS

TERRORISM

-- GOS ACTION: ACCEPT PRESENCE OF U.S. TEAM FOR DIALOGUE ON COUNTER-TERRORISM AND ENGAGE SERIOUSLY WITH IT.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: ANNOUNCE THAT WE HAVE ENGAGED IN A DIALOGUE ON COUNTER TERRORISM.

-- GOS ACTION: CLOSE DOWN AND SEIZE THE ASSETS OF TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING, BUT NOT LIMITED TO (MORE DETAILED INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FOR PRESENTATION TO GOS SUBJECT TO DECLASSIFICATION): THOSE OF USAMA BIN LADEN, HIS AL QAIDA ORGANIZATION, AND ALL RELATED ENTITIES AND ENTERPRISES, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO ALL REMAINING ELEMENTS OF AL-HIJRA FOR CONSTRUCTION AND TABA INVESTMENTS AND ACCOUNTS AT AL-SHIMAL BANK; THE WADI AL-AQIQ AGRICULTURAL IMPORT-EXPORT COMPANY AND ALL AFFILIATED AND SUBSIDIARY AND RELATED OPERATIONS; AND THE HAMAS FRONT COMPANY OLIVE MOUNTAIN COMPANY AND THE HIZBALLAH OFFICE LOCATED IN KHARTOUM. CLOSE THE SUDAN OFFICES AND OPERATIONS OF ALL NINE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING FROM THERE, COOPERATE TO DELIVER INDICTEES AND SUSPECTS TO COUNTRIES OF JURISDICTION, AND EXPEL ALL RELATED

INDIVIDUALS, INCLUDING BUT NOT LIMITED TO ABU IBRAHIM AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS TO BE NAMED. PUBLICLY FORSWEAR THE
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PROVISION OF SAFEHAVEN, TRAINING, FINANCING OR OTHER ASSISTANCE TO GROUPS ENGAGED IN TERRORISM NOW AND IN THE FUTURE. CEASE ALL SUPPORT FOR SUCH ACTIVITIES INCLUDING THE PROVISION OF AROUND-THE-CLOCK SECURITY FOR THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT'S EL-AQSA CENTER, AND ALL TRAINING, FINANCIAL, AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR TERRORISTS. COMMIT TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN COUNTER-TERRORISM BY SHARING WITH OTHER NATIONS, ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, INTELLIGENCE DATA THAT SUDAN MIGHT POSSESS OR OBTAIN ABOUT TERRORIST THREATS.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: IF IT IS CONFIRMED THAT THE GOS HAS COMPLIED IN FULL WITH THESE REQUIREMENTS, AND AFTER A PERIOD OF TIME TO CONFIRM THE GOS COMMITMENT TO COMBATING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, WE WOULD REMOVE SUDAN FROM THE STATE SPONSORS OF TERRORISM LIST.

-- GOS ACTION: COMPLY WITH UNSCRS 1044, 1054, AND 1070 REQUIRING PROVISION OF INFORMATION ON AND ASSISTANCE IN THE PRESENTATION FOR PROSECUTION OF THE THREE SUSPECTS IN THE 1995 ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST PRESIDENT MUBARAK.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: WORK IN THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL TO REPEAL UN SANCTIONS ON SUDAN.

-- GOS ACTION: SIGN AND DEMONSTRATE FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL 11 INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-TERRORISM CONVENTIONS, AS WELL AS THE 1998 NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORIST BOMBINGS.

-- GOS ACTION: END MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL
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INSURGENCY GROUPS: LRA: CUTOFF ALL ARMS SUPPORT, FACILITATE RETURN OF KIDNAPPED CHILDREN; ADF: CUTOFF ALL ARMS SUPPORT PROVIDED THROUGH KABILA TO THE ADF; AND TURN OVER EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE GENOCIDE SUSPECTS FOR POSSIBLE PROSECUTION.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS. NOTE POSITIVELY IN UN AND US HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS. PROVIDE U.S. SUPPORT TO UNICEF PROGRAM TO FREE AND REINTEGRATE ABDUCTED CHILDREN.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

-- GOS ACTION: PUBLICLY CONDEMN, STOP SUPPORT FOR, AND INSTITUTE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST: ATTACKS BY POPULAR DEFENSE FORCE (PDF) MILITIA; SLAVE-RAIDING; AND FORCED CONVERSIONS TO ISLAM. (SAFEGUARDS SHOULD INCLUDE INTRODUCING TRANSPARENT LEGAL MEASURES AGAINST OFFENDERS, HOLDING THEM ACCOUNTABLE, AND ALLOWING INTERNATIONAL MONITORS TO OPERATE FREELY.)

-- U.S. RESPONSE: PROVIDE TRAIN PARTS; ISSUE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS; PROVIDE RESOURCES FOR INTERNATIONAL MONITORING OF ANY COMMITMENTS, POSSIBLY FROM DRL HUMAN RIGHTS FUND; SUPPORT NEUTRAL INVESTIGATIONS TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE; NOTE POSITIVE CHANGE IN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS (U.S. & U.N.) AND TAKE A DIFFERENT POSTURE IN UNGA AND UNHRC MEETINGS AND RESOLUTIONS; DISCUSS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WITH GOS TO HELP PROMOTE AND ACHIEVE CREDIBLE JUSTICE, INCLUDING LEGAL ASSISTANCE FOR PROSECUTING

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OFFENDERS, MONITORING ASSISTANCE, ETC.; AND SEND DRL A/S KOH TO KHARTOUM TO ENGAGE IN HUMAN RIGHTS DIALOGUE WITH THE GOS.

-- GOS ACTION: ACCEPT COUNTRYWIDE HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING PRESENCE; SIGN MOU; OPEN UNCHR OFFICE IN KHARTOUM; AND ALLOW MONITORS TO OPERATE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: PROVIDE RESOURCES FOR HR MONITORS, POSSIBLY FROM DRL HUMAN RIGHTS FUND; NOTE AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS (U.S. AND UNCHR); MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE DECISION; EXPLORE CAPACITY BUILDING ASSISTANCE FOR GOS MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT; AND INSTITUTE IV EXCHANGES RELATED TO DEMOCRACY BUILDING.

-- GOS ACTION: CEASE AERIAL BOMBARDMENT OF CIVILIAN TARGETS AND ALLOW INDEPENDENT, INTERNATIONAL, TEAM TO VERIFY ALL REPORTS OF BOMBING.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENT AND ENCOURAGE CONGRESS TO MAKE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS (GIVEN PAST RESOLUTIONS ON THIS ISSUE).

-- GOS ACTION: CONSISTENT WITH THE IGAD DOP, ALLOW FULL FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY & FULL PARTICIPATION OF

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POLITICAL PARTIES: REVIEW AND AMEND POLITICAL PARTY LAW
TO ALLOW FULL PARTICIPATION BY PARTIES AND ALLOW REOPENING
OF NEWSPAPERS CLOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: POSITIVE STATEMENTS AND EXAMINE
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TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION (I.E. IRI,
NDI EXPLORATORY MISSIONS)

-- GOS ACTION: MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO STOP RELIGIOUS
PERSECUTION AND DISCRIMINATION, SUCH AS IMPLEMENTING
CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES FOR FREEDOM OF RELIGION TIED TO
ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: ENCOURAGE VISITS BY RELIGIOUS
COMMISSION MEMBERS AND UNDERTAKE VISIT BY OUR AMBASSADOR-
AT-LARGE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM TO VERIFY AND
REPORT AND ENCOURAGE VATICAN TO DO SAME. MAKE POSITIVE
REPORT TO CONGRESS OF VERIFIABLE CHANGE.

-- GOS ACTION: HOLD DEMOCRATIC, INTERNATIONALLY MONITORED
ELECTIONS AND TRANSITION TO A NEW GOVERNMENT AS THE
CULMINATION OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: DEVELOP PACKAGE OF DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT WITHIN THE IFIS.

PEACE PROCESS

-- GOS ACTION: PERMIT NDA PARTICIPATION IN IGAD TALKS.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: WELCOME PUBLICLY GOS FLEXIBILITY

-- GOS ACTION: MAKE SERIOUS HEADWAY IN IGAD PEACE PROCESS
ON FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, AT THE NEXT MEETING
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OF IGAD, OBSERVERS WOULD NEED TO VERIFY THAT THE GOS
NEGOTIATING TEAM WAS DEMONSTRATING FLEXIBILITY AND
SERIOUSNESS ON THE ISSUES OF RELIGION/STATE AND THE
BOUNDARY FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

-- U.S. RESPONSE: MAKE POSITIVE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AT KEY
POINTS OF PROGRESS; ENGAGE DIRECTLY AT A HIGHER LEVEL AND
ON A MORE CONSISTENT BASIS WITH KHARTOUM ON PEACE PROCESS

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ISSUES; SEND JOHNSTON TO KHARTOUM MORE FREQUENTLY; PROVIDE
FURTHER TECHNICAL AID TO THE PEACE PROCESS; AND EXPAND
PARTICIPATION IN IPF SUBCOMMITTEE PREPARING FOR FUTURE
TRANSITION.

-- GOS ACTION: SIGN AND BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT
INTERNATIONALLY MONITORED COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT
THAT MAPS OUT A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND RESOLVES THE
STATUS OF THE SOUTH

-- U.S. RESPONSE: DEVELOP SIGNIFICANT AID PROGRAM; HIGH
LEVEL INTENSIVE DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION;
SUPPORT IFI RE-ENGAGEMENT AND AID; SUPPORT WORLD BANK
POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AID; PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR
DEALING WITH SOUTHERN STATUS (SUPPORT FOR REFERENDUM
PREPARATION, AUTONOMOUS REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION, ETC.);
PRESS SUDAN'S NEIGHBORS TO CEASE SUPPORT FOR SUDANESE
OPPOSITION FORCES; AND LIFT UNILATERAL U.S. SANCTIONS
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	EB-00	EUR-00	OIGO-02	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-00	HHS-01
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00	IO-00	JUSE-00	L-00
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	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-03	OES-01	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-00
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S E C R E T STATE 117658

NAIROBI FOR EMBASSY KHARTOUM OFFICE

E.O. 12958: DECL: 6/20/10

TAGS: PTER, PREL, UNSC, SU, FR, NL, AR, BG

SUBJECT: SUDANESE INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORISM

CLASSIFIED BY: EDMUND HULL, DEPUTY COORDINATOR FOR
COUNTERTERRORISM, S/CT. REASON: 1.5 (B) (C) (D)

REF: STATE 113624

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Charles Daris, Senior Reviewer

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1. (S) THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE.

2. (S) DEPARTMENT UNDERSTANDS THAT THE HOST GOVERNMENTS AT ADDRESSEE POSTS MAY BE RELUCTANT TO ENDORSE THE USG POSITION AGAINST LIFTING SUDAN SANCTIONS BECAUSE THEY LACK EVIDENCE THAT THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT STILL SUPPORTS TERRORISM. THE FOLLOWING NON-PAPER, WHICH IS CLASSIFIED SECRET/RELEASABLE TO FRANCE, ARGENTINA, BANGLADESH, AND THE NETHERLANDS, CONTAINS USG INFORMATION IMPLICATING KHARTOUM IN CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM. EMBASSIES ARE

REQUESTED TO SHARE THIS NON-PAPER WITH HOST GOVERNMENT INTERLOCUTORS AT AN APPROPRIATE SENIOR LEVEL IN AN ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE THEM THAT UNSC SANCTIONS SHOULD NOT BE LIFTED AT THIS TIME.

3. (S/RELEASABLE TO FRANCE, ARGENTINA, BANGLADESH, AND THE SECRET

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NETHERLANDS ONLY - ENTIRE TEXT) BEGIN TEXT OF NON-PAPER:

CURRENT STATUS OF SUDAN'S SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM

WE HAVE OBSERVED NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN SUDAN'S SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM SINCE THE DECEMBER 1999 POLITICAL SHAKENUP IN WHICH PRESIDENT OMAR AL-BASHIR CONSOLIDATED POWER AND SIDELINED NATIONAL ISLAMIC FRONT (NIF) LEADER HASSAN AL-TURBAI. TERRORISTS FROM A VARIETY OF ISLAMIC EXTREMIST GROUPS---SUCH AS USAMA BIN LADIN'S ORGANIZATION, EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (EIJ), AND HAMAS---CONTINUE TO USE SUDAN FOR SAFEHAVEN, TRAINING, AND, IN SOME CASES, AS A PLATFORM TO PLAN OPERATIONS.

USAMA BIN LADIN

SUDAN'S CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON BIN LADIN OPERATIVES, WHO CONTINUE TO OPERATE FREELY FROM KHARTOUM. SEVERAL BIN LADIN BUSINESSES---INCLUDING ATYAF INVESTMENTS AND THE KHARTOUM TANNERYE---ARE RUN BY AL-QA'IDA LIEUTENANTS AND STILL OPERATE IN SUDAN, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE TRYING TO KEEP A LOW PROFILE

-- SUDAN MAINTAINS A FINANCIAL STAKE IN SOME OF THESE COMPANIES AND HAS TRIED TO OBSCURE BIN LADIN'S COMMERCIAL TIES BY CHANGING THE NAME OF AT LEAST ONE OF HIS COMPANIES.

EGYPTIAN GROUPS

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THE EIJ AND AL-GAMA'AT AL-ISLAMIYYA ALSO RECEIVE SAFEHAVEN AND SUPPORT IN SUDAN. MORE THAN 20 EIJ AND GAMA'AT MEMBERS AFFILIATED WITH BIN LADIN ARE OPERATING IN SUDAN AND MEET ON A REGULAR BASIS TO DISCUSS COMMON ISSUES OF CONCERN.

-- SENIOR GAMA'AT LEADER RIFA'I TAHA MUSA---WHO IS ALLIED WITH BIN LADIN AND LAST OCTOBER CALLED FOR AN INCREASE IN ANTI-US ATTACKS---TRAVELED TO SUDAN IN APRIL TO RALLY LOCAL GAMA'AT SUPPORT FOR HIS PLAN TO RETURN THE GROUP TO VIOLENT OPERATIONS.

PALESTINIAN GROUPS

SEVERAL PALESTINIAN EXTREMIST GROUPS---SUCH AS HAMAS, THE PALESTINE ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ) AND THE ABU NIDAL ORGANIZATION (ANO)--MAINTAIN A PRESENCE IN SUDAN AND CONTINUE TO CONDUCT A WIDE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING FUNDRAISING, RECRUITMENT, IDEOLOGICAL AND PARAMILITARY TRAINING, AND OTHER LOGISTICAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES.

-- HAMAS--WHICH HAS A FEW HUNDRED SUPPORTERS AMONG THE LOCAL PALESTINIAN POPULATION--HAS AN OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN KHARTOUM, OPERATES AT LEAST ONE SMALL FRONT COMPANY, AND IS ASSOCIATED WITH SEVERAL NGOS THERE.

-- THE PIJ MAINTAINS A SMALLER PRESENCE THAN HAMAS IN SUDAN BUT HAS AN OFFICE AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN KHARTOUM. ITS MEMBERSHIP IS PRIMARILY COMPOSED OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, AND IT ALSO OPERATES SMALL COMMERCIAL SECRET

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VENTURES.

SOME INFORMATION INDICATES THAT THESE GROUPS HAVE BEEN WARY OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN SUDANESE POLICY FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, SUGGESTING THEY HAVE MADE PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE SUDAN. OTHER SOURCES INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT PIJ OPERATIVES MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES TO THE SUDANESE REGIME DESPITE THE CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT.

IRAN AND NGO'S

SUDAN ALSO PROVIDES A PLATFORM FOR IRAN TO MEET WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS AND SUPPORTS VARIOUS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE TERRORIST ACTIVITY.

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-- IRAN COUNTS ON SUDAN'S GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY AND BENIGN
OPERATING ENVIRONMENT TO ALLOW IRANIAN AGENTS TO MEET WITH
AND CHANNEL FUNDS, WEAPONS, AND TRAINING TO ISLAMIC
EXTREMISTS.

-- KHARTOUM'S WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE PROVIDING SAFEHAVEN
FOR VARIOUS RADICAL PALESTINIAN GROUPS FACILITATES IRAN'S
EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THEIR TERRORIST OPERATIONS AGAINST
ISRAEL AND TO IMPROVE THEIR OPERATIONAL CAPABILITIES.

AFRICAN OPPOSITIONISTS

BASHIR HAS TAKEN SOME INITIAL STEPS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS
WITH ERITREA AND ETHIOPIA SINCE TAKING OFFICE, BUT A
VARIETY OF REPORTS SUGGEST THAT SUDAN STILL AIDS OPPOSITION
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GROUPS FROM THESE COUNTRIES AND OTHERS---INCLUDING SOMALIA
AND UGANDA. KHARTOUM PROVIDES THESE GROUPS WITH FUNDING,
ARMS, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND SAFEHAVEN.

LIMITED PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

BASHIR WILL MOVE AGAINST SOME EXTREMIST GROUPS ONLY IF IT
SERVES SUDAN'S BROADER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS AND
ASSISTS HIM IN HIS ONGOING BATTLE WITH TURABI'S NIF
FACTION. PROGRESS WILL ONLY COME SLOWLY. WE CANNOT
CONFIRM THAT KHARTOUM HAS DEPORTED ANY TERRORIST GROUPS OR
INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH THEM.

-- BASHIR'S OUSTER OF THE POPULAR ARAB AND ISLAMIC
CONFERENCE (PAIC) IS AN EARLY INDICATOR THAT HE COULD PLACE
TRAVEL AND OTHER RESTRICTIONS ON SOME EXTREMISTS TO ISOLATE
TURABI FURTHER AND TO PLACATE THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER
GOVERNMENTS, SUCH AS SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT, WHICH HAVE
CRITICIZED SUDAN'S SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM.

-- BASHIR HAS TAKEN SOME STEPS--SUCH AS SIGNING
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS TO COMBAT TERRORISM--IF ONLY TO
ATTRACT MORE WESTERN EUROPEAN AND MODERATE ARAB BUSINESSMEN
AND TO GAUGE THE RESIDUAL STRENGTH OF TURABI'S SUPPORTERS.
BUT HE NONETHELESS HAS NOT TAKEN ACTION CONSISTENT WITH
THOSE CONVENTIONS.

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